Vol. IV. Numb. 39

The EXAMINER.

From Friday October 16, to Monday October 19, 1713.

Pacem his legibus constituerunt, ut Athenienses *mari duces essent.*
Nepos *in vita* Timoth.

I Cannot think there is any great Loss or Decay of *Publick Spirit* in *Britain*: I had rather believe my Countrymen have enough of that Virtue, if they knew how to employ it better, and to fix it upon proper Objects. The *Publick Spirit*, that now reigns amongst us, is a very great Rambler, and seems more concern'd for the Peace and Welfare of other Countries, than of its own. Instead of a civil Visit, after the manner of the wisest Travellers, it seems to have taken up its Residence in Foreign Parts, and to consider *Great Britain* rather as an *Ally* and *Neighbour*, than as the Place of our Nativity, and the Nursing-Mother of our selves and our Posterity; to whose sole Good and Advantage all our Labours and Endeavours at home, and our Wars, Treaties, and Transactions abroad, ought to be made subservient; as the great End of whatever we undertake in our Civil Capacities. Hence it is observable, that we have many amongst us, who by sucking in the *Daily* and *Weekly* Lyes, that buzz continually about all Places of Business and Resort, and by confining their Studies to *unbound Authors*, get such a Habit of Ignorance or Prejudice, with regard to the Things of their own Country, that they may be said to be perfect Strangers at home, and to know more of those Nations they never saw, than of that, in which they have lived all their Days. Others there are, who, because they or their Friends are out of Play, banish themselves voluntarily, take part in some foreign Interest, and, as if they expected little good where they were conscious of having done none, imagine, that all will go wrong, and *Great Britain* be in danger, unless the *Dutch* can accommodate Matters with *Spain*, the *Emperor* make a better Figure upon the *Rhine*, or some Relief be sent to the Brave and Adventurous *Catalonians*. Doubtless the Knowledge of Affairs abroad is of great Use to the Publick; but when these Enquiries, among private Subjects, are more than Speculative, when they engross our Hearts as well as Heads, when indifferent Persons, who are at a great distance from those Courts, and can have no manner of Influence upon their Counsels, do yet deeply concern themselves in all the Steps they take, and make the Measures of other Princes, the subject of their ordinary *Wishes*, and *Healths*, and the burden of their *Conversation*; whilst *Great Britain* is commended, censured and reflected on, no otherwise, than as she behaves towards a Neighbour or an Ally, this sort of Conduct betrays want of natural Affection to our own Country, speaks us revolted from our Allegiance; and tho' these Imaginations, for want of an Opportunity, may not yet be arriv'd at their proper *Overtacts*, yet there wants but little other Evidence to convince us, That these Mens Hopes terminate in an *Invasion*, or at least in an *unnecessary Revolution*. Such a *Spirit* is *Common*, rather than Publick; a debauch'd Wanderer, a Prostitute, a Breaker of its first Vows, unfaithful to its only Love, and that goes a Raking after Strangers. The first Introducers of this *Spirit* among us, knew very well how to promote and encourage it, and to make their Advantage of its Delusions. They despair'd of corrupting True-born *Britains*: They knew, by Experience, that Changes in our Government were an importable Commodity, and usually came from beyond Sea; and therefore they first Attach'd themselves to a Foreign Interest, and then labour'd all they could to Attach that Interest to *Great Britain*; that by this Scale, and these Props, themselves might ascend the Height, which their Ambition had long aim'd at. They carried our *Blood*, our *Treasure*, our *Trade*, and our *People* abroad; and brought home, in exchange for them, the *Divinity*, *Morals*, and *Politicks* of other Nations: With the *First* they made many Friends beyond Sea, who were to stand by them in a favourable Juncture; and with the *Latter* they seduc'd a Party at Home, that, in Conjunction with their Foreign Allies, could not but prove too hard for an honest Majority of *Englishmen*; and both these of course must resort to them, as the only Persons fit to Head the Undertaking. Excluding such Tools and Drudges to their voracious Appetites and Longings after Power, their own Country was the least of their Concern in all their Dealings with their good Friends and Allies on t'other side of the Herring-Pond. Indeed they often told us of our Danger, but never told other People of our Interest. When we were to be drawn into any warlike Adventure or Contribution, our *All* was said to be at Stake, and we were frighted and alarm'd: but the moment we Conquer'd, others were let in before us to the Plunder; and we always treated upon the Time Foot that one of the *Greek Republicks* undertook an Expedition against *Philip* of *Macedon*; We lost our *Money*, and saved our *Liberties*. What was more common, than to hear their Declaimers for the Prosecution of the War, lard the Argument with canting Accounts of our deplorable Circumstances; that our Lives and Fortunes, our All depended upon the *next Campaign*? They promised us, that we should Fight for our selves, tho' in very good Company: That the Game would be the surer, the more Hunters came into the Field; but the Bear's-Skin should be fairly and evenly divided. Thus we set out: but when it came to a *Treaty*, we had another sort of Language eccho'd back from *Gertruydenberg*. *There* it was said, That we did not Fight for *Our Selves*, but for *Others*; or if for *Our Selves*, yet we thereby mean'd our *Allies*; for *they* and *we* were all one. Our *Publick Spirit* became strangely enlarg'd: It had been *Naturaliz'd* in *Holland*, and made a *Prince of the Empire*; and *Great Britain* was thought unqualified to sit in that Congress, unless She would first resign all *Places of Trust and Profit*. Perhaps it may be said, that these are the usual Sentiments of their old Friend; that I am Partial in my Judgment, and wrong their good Intentions: I shall therefore here set down the Opinion of a *Learned Foreigner*, concerning us and our Proceedings at that time; and such an Opinion, as seems to be taken from the receiv'd Notions of the Country in which he lived. That the *Whigs* may listen with more Attention, I must first acquaint them, that he is not only a *Foreigner*, but a *Dutchman*; and such a *Dutchman*, who of late has traded very freely with us, both in *Religion* and *Politicks*; having imported hither many Commodities in either Kind, enough to choak the Markets, and keep our Second-hand Writers in constant Employ, by manuring us with the due Returns of Mud and Dung, from that foggy Compiler of the *Faces* of his own Country. This Author is Monsieur *le Clerc*, who has lately publish'd a *New Edition* of *Livy*, in Ten *Volumes*, which he dedicates to a *Noble English Lord*, much better known here, than I hope he is to Monsieur *Le Clerc*, and his *Dutch* Acquaintance. The *Epistle Dedicatory* is dated in 1709, the very Year of the *Gertruydenberg Treaty*; and in it are these Words: *Vobis*, Britanni, *secundis a omnia optare decet populos, qui eis mare sunt; quod facultates vestras, imo & sanguinem, a tot annis, non magis in vestram, quam in horum hostium gratiam, æque alacriter profudistis, ac olim* Romani *ad servandam libertatem, opes & vitam civium suorum effudere. Laudabile super omnia, quam ne pace Europæ in Hollandia agretur, omnibus; a potentissimo Galliarum Rege, cum quo bellum gessistis, victorum, fœderatorumque; cujus, ut vobis*

seorsim nihil peteretis. *Hoc demum est bellum gerere, ut homines decet.* This *Latin Scrap*, which favours strongly of the *living Languages*, will bear the following Translation: *We, on this Side of the Water, ought to be very hearty in our Wishes for the Prosperity of You* Britons; *because for some Years past, you have very freely and generously expended your Blood, not so much on your own Account, as for the Sake of others. You have been as forward to do this, as the* Romans *ever were to Invade their Neighbours, at the Expence of the Lives and Fortunes of their Fellow-Citizens. We have seen a fresh Instance of this your Conduct: For when the* Treaty *for a* General Peace *was set a-foot in* Holland, *the Demands you made upon the* Mighty Monarch *of* France, *were all in behalf of your Neighbours and Allies*, without any the least Regard for your own Interest. *It becomes you, as you are Men, to make War in this manner.* Thus far *Monsieur Le Clerc:* I hope, *my Lord* paid him well for this Complement. When will the *Dutch* learn to be such *Men* as we are? Thus, you see, they give us our Jest, and take our Estates. *Fifty Millions* will make them Eloquent, and us Happy in such Friends. I hope after such impartial Evidence, I shall no more be called upon to produce Proofs of the great Care of the *Late Ministry* for the Safety and Welfare of their Country, and their indefatigable Labours for the improvement of her Interests.

After taking a View of the *Publick Spirit*, that has so long haunted us, I shall not be ashamed to own, that I design to Limit and Confine our Generosity for the future; that I resolve, if possible, to persuade my Countrymen, not to have such vast enlarged Thoughts; but to narrow some of their Virtues, to be more Selfish than they have been, and contract their mighty Souls to within a few *Leagues* of the *Lands-End*, or the *Chaps* of the *Channel*. Such of them as believe a *Providence*, I may perhaps prevail upon, to give up the Care of many of their Neighbours to that wise *Intendant*. I shall endeavour to call the Minds of others home, together with our Forces; and teach them to look less upon their *Maps*, and more out of their *Windows*. What advice *Horace* gives to his particular *Friends*, in those fine Expressions,

Quid bellicosus Cantaber, *&* Scythes,
Hirpine Quinti, *cogitet*, Adria
Divisus objecto, remittas
Quærere. ——
—— *Quis sub* Arcto
Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ,
Quid Tiridatem *terreat, unice*
Securus. ——
Quis Parthum *paveat? Quis gelidum* Scythen?
Quis Germania *quos horrida parturit*
Fœtus? —— *Quis feræ*
Bellum curet Iberiæ? ——
Tu Civitatem *quis deceat status,*
Curas; & urbi solicitus times,
Quid Seres, *&* regnata Cyro,
Bactra parent, Tanaisq; *discors?*

This Advice, I say, I shall apply to my Fellow-Subjects in general; and convince them, that *Great Britain* deserves all the Care which they can possibly lay out upon a Country. I will disband those *New-rais'd Volunteers*, who have listed themselves for *Envoys* and *Plenipotentiaries*. I will reduce the Number of *Non-Commissionn Ministers of State*, and take upon me to *Naturalize* several of my Country-men.

What occurs to me at present, among other Domestick Affairs, as well worth our Notice, is the restoring of the *Royal Navy of* Great Britain to its antient Glory, and Station upon the Waters. How much this was neglected, during the late War, only because the *Immortal Man* was neither *Amphibious* nor *Ubiquitary*, is well known even to *Bakers* and *Brewers*. Those Men, who crost the Seas oftenest, forgot the soonest of any, that *Great Britain* was an *Island*. Our *Fleet* appear'd only to make a *Foil* for the *Army*, or rather, was given up as a proper Province to the *Under-Plunderers*, wherein they were to pay themselves for *Secret Services* to their *Party*. And yet, as much neglected as the *Navy* then was, the *Whigs* made a *wooden Leg* of it to beg with; and had rendred the *Debt* almost as unfathomable as the *Ocean*, that what in all Ages was accounted the Bulwark of our Shores, might in time devour the whole Land, and prove the Introduction to their last great Design, a *general Mortgage*; which would have Constituted them our *Sovereign Landlords for ever.*

The relieving us from this intolerable Grievance, was one of the glorious Difficulties reserved for the *Present Ministry*; and in which they have so distinguished themselves, as to merit *Her Majesty's* most Gracious Approbation, and the Thanks of all *Her* Subjects. The way, in which they have done it, is not less surprizing, than the Undertaking itself; and I make no doubt, but their Hands will be strengthen'd to accomplish it. I hope upon the conclusion of the *Peace*, these *wooden Walls* were not to be *Demolish'd*, for fear of putting our Neighbours out of Humour. This Subject is more worthy of our best Pens and Heads, than to enquire, when the *Emperor* will *Degenerate*, or what will become of the *Catalonians*. The Necessity there is for rebuilding many *Ships*, for increasing the number of *Men of War*, and reforming the Government and Oeconomy of the *Fleet*, will appear from divers Considerations. I presume the *Whigs* will not pretend, that they have occasion for all the *Timber* in the Nation. If I were to recommend, even to them, any one Principle from the Conduct of their *Favourite Times* in *Forty One*, it should be this, of providing well for the Honour and Strength of the *British Navy*. Let there be such a *Fleet*, and we shall soon find *Blakes* and *Norborough's* to command it. They who have done Wonders in *Privateering* with our *Ships of War*, for their own particular Advantage, will, 'tis hop'd, not sink from that Character, when they come to act upon Principles of Honour and Advantage to the Publick. We have now enlarg'd our Dominions in the *Indies*, and made an advantageous Settlement in the *Mediterranean:* It will be necessary to maintain this Footing with a *good Force* at *Sea*, and to secure the Intercourse of *both Worlds*, that we may not be left Inexcusable, for repeating the Miscarriages of our Forefathers. A good *Fleet* will be an Equivalent for many *Guarantees* and *Alliances*. Of our neareſt Neighbours, *Holland* and *France* are most able and likely to *Rival* us in *Trade* and *Power*; and they will do more than *Rival* us, if we do not at least *Rival* them in our Strength at Sea. *France*, we are told, *is now removed several hundred Miles from us*; and *Holland* is become more Intent upon the *Land-Service*, on account of their *New Barrier:* These Incidents therefore afford us an opportunity of regaining the *Empire of the Ocean*, in a more ample manner, than ever our Ancestors enjoy'd it. By this means we shall secure, improve, and enlarge our *Trade*; and the *Crown* it self may recover, by *Foreign Merchandize*, more than ever it lost by *Domestick Rapine*. The same Vessels, which in Time of *War* carry Terror abroad, may, in *Peace*, bring Riches home to the *Treasury:* For it will be a Shame for a numerous full-fraught *Fleet* of our *Neighbours* to pass merrily by, and *Strike* to a stately empty *Englishman*, that is only out upon Ceremony. A good *Flight* of these *wooden Wings* will enable us to pay many a Politick Visit, to the most distant Shore, the roughest Prince, or most unreasonable State; and with more Formality, as well as more Success. An *Admiral* may be heard, when an *Ambassador* is dismissed without *Audience*; and where the *Law of Nations* is not minded, the *Ratio Ultima Regum* may have a good Influence, and procure us Justice. Many other Advantages might be enumerated, and many Considerations offered, in the way of a *Project*, which would prove the Burthen and Charge of this great Undertaking to be vastly disproportion'd to the Benefits, which the Publick would receive thereby; but when I consider who they are, that move at the *Helm of Government*, and how well they have fill'd that Station, it would be Presumption in me to Despair of their succeeding in any lesser Province, which may have given Rise to that *Metaphor*. It is sufficient, that I contribute my hearty Wishes to make our *Island* Happy, in the Enjoyment of *both those Characters*, which have hitherto been divided,

Insula, dives opum, studiisq; asperrima belli.

ERRAT. in the last EXAMINER.

For *Goodness; is a Benefaction.* Read *Goodness and Benefaction.*

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